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ABSTRACT

Emphasizing a distinction between interpersonal versus intergroup behavior, this paper investigates the impact of interpersonal and intergroup characteristics on the individual's decision to rely on collective action. Four dimensions of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior--social mobility versus social change, personal deprivation versus group deprivation, self-identity versus group identity, and variety versus uniformity of opinions--are presented as integral parts of the social psychological processes of categorization, identity, and comparison that underlie the individual's decision. Applied to survey data from 83 school districts in New York State, measures of these dimensions and of perceived legitimacy of power in the district are used to predict elementary and secondary teachers' desire to have the union become involved in compensation issues and issues of professional prerogative. Results of regression analyses show the importance of both interpersonal and intergroup factors, particularly deprivation and identity, in deciding to rely on group action. Differences in results between elementary and secondary school teachers, as well as between compensation issues and issues of professional prerogative, reinforce the validity of making these distinctions. Suggestions are made for the further development of the social psychology of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior. (Author/MJL)

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INTERPERSONAL VERSUS INTERGROUP BEHAVIOR: THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF DESIRED UNION INVOLVEMENT

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In: Consensus and Power in School Organizations

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Abstract

Relying on a distinction between interpersonal versus intergroup behavior, this paper investigates the impact of interpersonal and intergroup characteristics on an individual's decision to rely on collective action. Four dimensions of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior are presented (i.e., social mobility versus social change, personal versus group deprivation, self identity versus group identity, and variety versus uniformity), and along with perceived legitimacy, are used to predict to elementary and secondary school teachers desire to have the union become involved in compensation issues and issues of professional perogative. Results show the importance of both interpersonal and intergroup factors in deciding to rely on group action, particularly deprivation and identity. Differences between elementary and secondary school teachers, as well as differences between compensation issues and issues of professional perogative reinforce the importance of these distinctions. Suggestions are made for the continued development of the social psychology of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior.

It is generally assumed that workers turn to unions to redress dissatisfactions which they are unable to relieve through their individual efforts (e.g., Brett, 1980; Schutt, 1982). Two sources of dissatisfaction may be considered: economic dissatisfaction and work related dissatisfaction or incongruity (Schutt, 1982). Faced with these sources of dissatisfaction, unorganized workers may seek to organize, while already unionized workers may press their union to redress these issues or engage in militant action. In both cases, individuals decide to turn to a collectivity as a means of resolving their grievances. Although a number of studies have focused on the individual and positional attributes that may lead an individual to view collective action as a solution (e.g., Leggett,1968; Alutto and Belasco, 1976; Coles, 1969; Schutt, 1982), very little of this research has attended to the dramatic differences between individual action and collective action on which these decisions are based. The act of turning to a union to redress individual dissatisfaction represents a reframing of the problem from one of interpersonal behavior to one of intergroup behavior. From a social psychological viewpoint, this is a drastic alteration which occurs on several different dimensions (Tajfel, 1981). This paper examines these dimensions of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior in an effort to determine their relative impact on an individual's disposition to rely on union action.

The Dimensions of Interpersonal versus Intergroup Behavior

This paper is based on the assumption that the characteristics of interpersonal behavior are different than the characteristics of intergroup behavior. Further, we believe that is an error to extrapolate from data on interpersonal behavior to predictions of intergroup behavior without taking the specific characteristics of intergroup behavior into account. Insofar as an individual's decision to rely on union action represents a dismissal of individual or interpersonal behavior in favor of intergroup

behavior, any thorough investigation of this type of decision should include both the characteristics of the interpersonal context and the characteristics of the intergroup context in which the decision is made as part of its analysis. To date, the majority of research on an individual's disposition to either join a union or turn to the union to resolve an issue has been primarily concerned with the interpersonal factors which lead a person to dismiss interpersonal behavior as a course of action. Less attention has been paid to the intergroup characteristics which may play an important part in this decision. The impact of both sets of characteristics on desired union involvement is the focus of the research reported here.

The need to consider interpersonal and intergroup characteristics involves a recognition of the importance of the social context in individual decision making (Tajfel, 1981; Argyle, Graham, Furnham, 1981). The characteristics of the social context lead an individual to categorize a problem as interpersonal or intergroup, a categorization which is intimately linked with the individual's sense of identity and the type of social comparisons he or she makes (Tajfel, 1981). Thus an individual who categorizes an issue as intergroup is likely to derive a sense of identity from the group and to compare his group to other groups, while an individual who categorizes an issue as interpersonal will rely on a private sense of identity and compare himself relative to other individuals. It is these social psychological processes of categorization, identity, and comparison that underlie the analysis presented here.

Tajfel and his colleagues (Tajfel, 1981) argue that interpersonal and intergroup behavior are opposite ends of a continuum. This continuum is related to a number of other continuua which are in essence dimensions of the general interpersonal versus intergroup continuum. The opposite ends of each

of these dimensions depict the characteristics of the interpersonal and intergroup contexts which play a crucial role in the processes of categorization, identity, and comparison.

The first dimension is that of social mobility versus social change. All of the studies of union organizing or union militancy assume the existence of some dissatisfaction (a condition which will be covered in more detail shortly). The reduction of this dissatisfaction is the individual's goal, with collective action being only one possible alternative to achieve this goal. It is also possible for the individual to leave the position he currently occupies, thereby eliminating the source of dissatisfaction. In that case, individual social mobility - a form of interpersonal behavior - becomes an alternative means for dealing with dissatisfaction. The findings of Corwin (1965) and Schutt (1982) which show that lack of promotional opportunities is a significant predictor of union militancy suggest that it is the lack of individual social mobility which leads to the decision to rely on group action. In terms of the first dimension of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior, group action represents social change, i.e., an effort to alter the current relationships between social groups. It seems likely that a given group's past success will determine, to a great degree, the perceived viability of this option (Bacharach and Mitchell, 1981).

The dissatisfaction which leads to a desire for social mobility or social change is the focus of the second dimension of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior. Dissatisfaction is seen as resulting from a sense of deprivation which occurs when one's current status is compared to the status of another. The choice of a comparison other will depend upon whether one is concerned with interpersonal or intergroup behavior. This second dimension effectively runs from personal deprivation to group deprivation. Personal deprivation

involves a comparison either with some other individual or with the expectations one had for oneself upon taking the job. Group deprivation, on the other hand, involves a comparison of one's social group with some other social group. To date, most of the empirical research on union action has been concerned with personal deprivation (e.g., Schutt, 1982). Although there has been a conceptual recognition of group deprivation (Brett, 1980), there is no empirical evidence demonstrating its impact on union activity.

Implicit in the notion of group deprivation is the existence of a sense of group identity. The process of social identity is critical to the study of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior, and the distinction between self-identity versus group identity which serves as the third dimension of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior seeks to capture this process. In utilizing this dimension, we are trying to delineate the source of a person's identity in the workplace. On the one hand, a person may derive their identity on the job from their individual attachment to the job and the personal relationships they establish. In that case, we are dealing with interpersonal behavior and self identity. On the other hand, a person may gain a sense of identity from the social group in which they are involved. In that case, we are concerned with group identity. In terms of collective action, one of the most important things to realize is that a person usually has a number of potential social groups from which to derive a sense of identity. For example, work groups, interest groups, and coalitions may all serve as a source of group identity (Bacharach and Lawler, 1980). This means that alternative sources of group identity should be considered in any study of union activity.

The literature on union organizing and union militancy recognizes the importance of a cohesiveness in group action (Brett, 1980). The establishment of a group identity depends upon a sense of commonality among the members

of the group. The final dimension of intergroup versus intergroup behavior deals with the variety versus uniformity of perceptions and opinions within the group. Of particular importance is the attitudes and behavior of group members in relation to the outgroup (Tajfel, 1981). At the interpersonal end of this dimension, a variety of attitudes and behavior among group members toward the outgroup will be in evidence. Alternatively, a uniformity of attitudes and behavior by group members toward the outgroup will be seen at the intergroup end of this dimension. This consistency is likely to include a high degree of stereotyping of the outgroup by ingroup members, stereotypes which are often used in emotional appeals to arouse group sentiments (Brett, 1980; Tajfel, 1981).

As noted above, the four dimensions of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior - social mobility versus social change, personal deprivation versus group deprivation, self identity versus group identity, and variety versus uniformity - are integral parts of the social psychological processes of categorization, identity, and comparison which underlie an individual's decision whether or not to rely on union action to resolve a problem. The general hypothesis guiding this paper may be stated as follows:

> An individual's decision to rely on union action will be a function of an unfavorable interpersonal social context and a favorable intergroup social context.

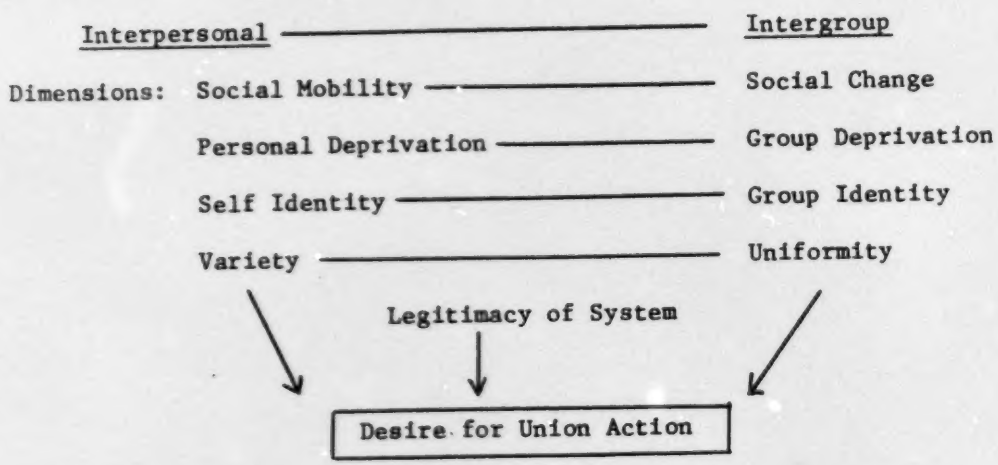
The relative states of the interpersonal and intergroup social contexts are determined by the four dimensions previously outlined.

One final aspect of the social psychology of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior needs to be presented. The discussion thus far presumes dissatisfaction is a motivating force. More importantly, it assumes that the presence of dissatisfaction is somehow illegitimate. In some cases,

however, the presence of dissatisfaction may be seen as perfectly legitimate, i.e., the differences between individuals or groups upon which the sense of dissatisfaction is based may be considered as an integral part of the social system (Tajfel, 1981). The decision to invoke group action, insofar as it relates to social change (see the discussion of the first dimension), rests on a belief in the illegitimacy of the current system. Thus the perceived legitimacy of the current social system must be considered in any analysis of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior.

Figure 1 summarizes the discussion to this by presenting the critical variables in a social psychological analysis of an individual's desire for union action, a prime example of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior.

Figure 1: Variables in the Social Psychological Analysis of Interpersonal versus Intergroup Behavior



Sample

This report is based on survey data collected in 83 school districts in New York State. These districts are a random sample stratified according to geographic location, size, wealth of the district, and district expenditures. Four regions in New York State were utilized for geographic location. The sample included 30 districts from the Binghamton-Elmira region; 14 districts in the Rochester region; 22 districts in the Syracuse region; and 17 districts in the Elmsford region. Average daily attendance in K-12 for each district was used as an indication of size. The average size of our sample is 3,128. The size of the districts ranges from a low of 277 to a high of 12,205. Assessed valuation was employed as a measure of district wealth. The average assessed valuation in our sample is $65,951,748; the range is from a low of $1,904,589 to a high of $379,246,706. Expenditures are indexed by the total general and federal aid expenditures for a district. The average for our sample is $7,433,854. The range of expenditures goes from a low of $630,968 to a high of $28,308,727.

For each district, the superintendent, central office administrative assistants, school board members, teachers in the largest elementary school and largest high school, and the principals of those schools received questionnaires. This report is based on data obtained from teachers. Out of 3,200 teacher questionnaires sent out, 2,247 usable surveys were returned, for an average response rate of 70%. Only those teachers from the 48 districts with a response rate of 30% or higher are included in this analysis. The analysis, however, is performed at the individual level. In keeping with the literature on teacher militancy (e.g., Coles, 1969), the analysis is performed separately on elementary and secondary school teachers.

Dependent Variable

An individual teacher's decision to turn to the union may take at least three different forms: 1) joining a union; 2) attempting to have the union address specific issues; or 3) engaging in militant behavior. Since all of the districts in our sample were already unionized, with most of them having at least 90% membership, joining the union was not considered a viable measure of the individual's desire for union action. Of the two other alternatives, attempting to have the union address specific issues was considered the most direct and more conservative measure. Accordingly, we employed desire for union involvement in specific issues as our dependent variable.

Teachers were asked to respond to the following query: "Do you think your local teachers' union should be more or less involved in the following areas:" There followed a list of fifteen areas, each of which was to be rated on a scale from 1 (less involved) to 5 (more involved), with 3 being "all right as is." The midpoint of this scale reflects a satisfaction with the status quo, which will vary from individual to individual. The lower numbers may be seen as moving away from the classification of an issue as an intergroup issue, while higher numbers represent an increase in the probability of an intergroup classification.

It seems likely that the classification of a given issue as belonging to the interpersonal or intergroup domain will depend upon the content of the issue. In order to account for the affect of content, following Bacharach and Mitchell (1982), the items were divided into two categories: compensation issues and issues of professional perogative. The issue areas are presented in Table 1, along with the means, standard deviations, and ranges for the elementary and secondary school teachers in our sample.

Insert Table 1 About Here

TABLE 1: DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Variable	Items Included*	Elementary School Teachers (N=518) Mean	Low/High	Standard Deviation	Secondary School Teachers (N=954) Mean	Low/High	Standard Deviation
Compensation	1. Getting Better Salaries 2. Health and Dental Insurance 3. Compensation for Additional Duties 4. Leaves	3.72	1.00/5.00	.72	3.88	1.00/5.00	.72
Professional	1. Class Size Impact 2. Preparation Time 3. Required Non-teaching Duties 4. Evaluation Procedures 5. Student discipline, student rights 6. Getting Teachers a Say in how they do Their Jobs 7. Getting teachers a say in how the administration runs the district	3.66	1.00/5.00	.65	3.71	1.00/5.00	.68

* These items follow the question "Do you think your local teacher's union should be more or less involved in the following areas?" Items are rated on a scale of 1 (less involved) to 5 (more involved), with 3 being "all right as is."

Independent Variables

In this section, we will explain the operationalizations of the four dimensions of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior and of perceived legitimacy employed in our analysis. For each model, hypotheses concerning the relationship between the dependent variable and the set of independent variables will be presented.

A. Social Mobility - Social Change. In considering social mobility, one must account for the possibility of an individual moving both within and outside of the organization. Of the four variables used to index social mobility, two relate to internal mobility and two deal with external mobility. The first item asked respondents "How certain are you of what your future career picture looks like?" This item was answered on a scale of 1 (very uncertain) to 4 (very certain). The second question was answered on the same scale, but asked respondents "How certain are you of the opportunities for promotion and advancement which will exist in the next few years?" These two measures both relate to internal mobility. The third measure is based on responses to the question "How likely is it that you will leave this school in the next three years?" Responses were scored on a scale of 1 (very likely) to 4 (very unlikely). The final item required subjects to respond to the question "In your opinion, how easy or difficult would it be for you to find a better job?" Respondents answered on a 1 (very easy) to 5 (very difficult) scale. These last two items deal with external mobility.

Social mobility provides a route by which the individual may leave his present position. The lack of social mobility means that the individual must find other means of dealing with the problems he confronts in his current situation. The first hypothesis then becomes:

Hypothesis 1: The less social mobility available to a teacher (e.g., the more uncertain their future career

picture and promotion opportunities, and the less the likelihood of leaving the district or finding another job), the greater the desire for union involvement is both compensation issues and issues of professional perogative.

Regarding the social change or intergroup end of this dimension, our dependent variable in essence captures that end of the continuum. The desire for union involvement in an issue represents a desire for social change. As such, our analysis is based on a desire for social change, i.e., we are trying to determine the social psychological conditions which lead an individual to turn to the union to alter the status quo.

B. Personal Deprivation-Group Deprivation. A sense of deprivation results from a process of comparison. Personal deprivation occurs when an individual compares his current state to either his expectations for himself or to another individual. The first measure of personal deprivation is job satisfaction. Respondents were asked, on a scale of 1 (very satisfied) to 4 (very dissatisfied), how satisfied they were with various aspects of their job. The measure of job satisfaction is an average of the responses to five items: 1) your present job when you compare it to jobs in other schools; 2) the progress you are making toward the goals you set for yourself in your present position; 3) the chance your job gives you to do what you are best at; 4) your present job when you consider the expectations you had when you took the job; and 5) your present job in light of your career expectations. The second measure of personal deprivation is based on the single item "your salary" and measures satisfaction with pay. Relieving a sense of personal deprivation is the presumed motivating force behind individual or collective action. Thus our second hypothesis is:

Hypothesis 2: The greater the degree of personal deprivation, the greater the desire for union involvement. Specifically,

the less the job satisfaction, the greater the desire for union involvement in professional issues; and the less the satisfaction with pay, the greater the desire for union involvement in compensation issues.

Group deprivation is based on a comparison of one's social group either with some other social group or with a set of expectations one has for his own social group. Our first measure of group deprivation is a ratio of the average teachers salary in a school to the average salary of other professionals in that school (usually the administrators). This index of economic deprivation seems appropriate insofar as the other professionals in ones schools are a likely comparison group for teachers. The second and third items of group deprivation measures decisional deprivation and decisional saturation (Alutto and Belasco, 1972). For each of 23 different issues in which decision-making may occur, respondents were asked to indicate which of the 23 issues teachers had influence over, as well as which of the 23 issues they felt teachers should have influence over. The number of issues respondents felt teachers have influence over is subtracted from the number of issues they indicated teachers should have influence over. Decisional deprivation measures the degree to which teachers do not have the influence they feel they should have and is based on results of the subtraction which are greater than or equal to zero (with all negative results being scored as zero on deprivation). Decisional saturation measures the degree to which teachers feel they are overburdened by too much responsibility and is based on results which are less than or equal to zero (with all positive results being scored as zero on saturation).

A collective sense of deprivation presumably works in the same manner as an individual sense of deprivation, serving as a stimulus for group action (although the interesting possibility arises of whether a sense of

group deprivation could be seen by an individual as a sign of group weakness, thereby reducing the chance of viewing group action as a positive alternative). Based on this assumption, the third hypothesis becomes:

> Hypothesis 3: The greater the sense of group deprivation, the greater the desire for union involvement. Specifically, the greater the sense of economic deprivation the greater the desire for union involvement in compensation issues; and the greater the decisional deprivation and decisional saturation, the greater the desire for union involvement in issues of professional perogative.

C. Self Identify - Group Identity. The source of a person's identity has a major impact on their actions. By self identity, we are referring to those sources of identity which are based on personal sources, as opposed to group identity, which is based on identification with the union as a social group. Three measures of self identity are employed. The first is rate of agreement. Respondents were presented with the same list of 23 decision areas as used in the measure of decisional deprivation and asked to indicate which of 10 different groups or persons they would be most likely to agree with over each issue. The variable was constructed by: 1) adding together the number of issues the respondent said they would agree with the superintendent and principal over; 2) dividing this by two; and 3) dividing this in turn by the number of issues responsdents said they would agree with teachers over. Thus the variable is a ratio of agreement with administration to agreement with teachers. We assume that agreement with the administration reflects a tendency to use personal sources of self identity.

The second measure of self identity is job involvement (Lodahl and Kejner, 1965). This measures the degree to which a person's job serves

as a source of identity. It is based on the average of responses to five items: (scores on a scale of 1 = very true to 7 = very false): 1) the major satisfaction in my life comes from my job; 2) the most important things that happen to me involve my work; 3) I'm really a perfectionist about my work; 4) I live, eat, and breathe my job; and 5) Quite often I feel like staying home from work instead of coming in (reversed).

The final item dealing with self identity is a measure of professional activity. Strictly speaking, this is not a measure of self identity but a measure of an alternative group identity (the possibility that professional identity is an alternative to union identity has been overlooked in past research which has tended to equate the two e.g., Schutt, 1982,yet for many teachers, this is a very real dichotomy). The measure is based on the average of responses to three yes (2)/no (1) questions: 1) Are you a member of any professional associations; 2) Have you or do you now hold any offices in professional associations; and 3) Do you subscribe to any professional magazines.

Personal sources of identity represent an alternative to group sources of identity. Therefore, our fourth hypothesis is:

> Hypothesis 4: The more an individual relies on personal sources of self identity (i.e., the more they agree with administrators, the greater their job involvement, and the greater their professional activity), the less desire they will have for the union to become involved in compensation and professional issues.

Three measures of identity with the union are employed. The first two are based on the fact that in adopting a group as a source of identity, one is led to make comparisons between social groups (see the section on group deprivation). This means that one's sense of group identity should

be reflected, in part, by the attitudes one has toward ones group and its relation to other groups. Following this line of reasoning, our first measure of group identity is based on responses to the question "all in all, how satisfied are you with your local teachers union?" Answers were on a scale of 1 (very satisfied) to 4 (very dissatisfied). The second item, scored on the same scale, is based on the question "In general, how do you personally feel about your school's relations with the local teacher's union?". The final item measuring group identity is an index of union activity. It is based on the aberage of responses to three yes (2) / no (1) questions: 1) In the last two years, have you voted in a local teachers' union election; 2) In the last two years, have you been elected to, nominated, or chosen for an office in a local teachers' union; and 3) In the last two years, have you gone to a local teachers' union meeting?

Establishing a group identity is a critical element in group action. Therefore our fifth hypothesis is:

> Hypothesis 5: The more the union serves as a source of identity (i.e., the greater the satisfaction with the union and its relations, the more the union activity), the greater the desire for union involvement in both compensation and professional issues.

D. Variety-Uniformity. Unlike the other dimensions of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior, it is very difficult to develop measures of both variety and uniformity since one implies the absence of the other. Accordingly, three measures are used to measure the degree of variety and uniformity present. The first two measures make use of the fact that uniformity is generally accompanied by the presence of stereotypes (Tajfel, 1981). The first measures the stereotype held of the administration and is based on

responses to the question "What is the administration's attitude toward the local teachers' union?" Answers were on a scale of 1 (strongly favorable) to 4 (strongly unfavorable). Using the same scale, the second item measures the stereotype of the union and is based on the query "What is the local teachers' union attitude toward the administration?" The final item measures the degree of support for the union. Respondents were asked "does the local teachers union have the support of the teachers?" Answers were on a scale of 1 (most of the teachers are strongly behind it), 2 (only a few really active people but most teachers go along), 3 (not too much feeling either way), or 4 (a lot of teachers are hostile).

The literature assumes that uniformity and cohesion are essential to effective group action (e.g., Brett, 1980). Following this argument, our sixth hypothesis is:

> Hypothesis 6: The greater the uniformity among teachers (i.e., the more the administration is seen as unfavorable and the union as favorable, and the greater the support among teachers), the greater the desire for union involvement in all issues.

E. Legitimacy. Any desire for social change implies an illegitimacy in the status quo. Three variables are used to measure the degree of perceived legitimacy in the system. All of the measures take heed of Tajfel's comment that the "prime condition for maintenance of the status quo is power" (1981: 318). Respondents were asked "In your opinion, who has more power in your school district, the local teachers' union or the administration?" Answers were scored on a scale of 1 (administration has all the power) through 4 (equal power) to 7 (local union has all the power). This is our first measure of legitimacy. The second and third measures try to account for the perceived legitimacy of the manner in which administrative

power is employed. In responding to the items on decisional deprivation (see section on group deprivation), teachers were also asked to indicate which issues superintendents and principals had influence over and which issues they should have influence over. As with the earlier measure, the total number of issues superintendents and principals have influence over was subtracted from the total number of issues teachers feel they should have influence over. This subtraction does not account for the fact, however, that the administration may be seen as having either too much or too little influence (e.g., Bacharach and Lawler, 1980), both of which would be seen as illegitimate. To deal with this, measures of decisional saturation and decisional deprivation were constructed. Saturation is based on results of the subtraction which are less than or equal to zero (with all positive results being scored zero on saturation), while deprivation is based on results which are greater to or equal to zero (with all negative results being scored zero on deprivation) (Bacharach and Mitchell, 1982).

Our final hypothesis is a recognition of the role of legitimacy in group action:

Hypothesis 7: The greater the perceived legitimacy of the status quo (i.e., the less the decisional saturation and deprivation, and the greater the administrations power), the less the desire for union involvement in all issues.

In closing this section, it should be noted that we have not framed the hypotheses in terms of either elementary or secondary school teachers. These differences will be expounded upon in the findings section of the paper.

Table 2 presents the means, ranges, and standard deviations for the independent variables used in this analysis.

Insert Table 2 About Here

Results and Discussion

The seven hypotheses regarding the impact of interpersonal and intergroup factors on an individual's decision to rely on union action were tested by regressing each set of independent variables (i.e., social mobility, personal deprivation, group deprivation, self identity, group identity, variety-uniformity, and legitimacy) on each of the two dependent variables (i.e., desired union involvement in compensation issues and desired union involvement in issues of professional perogative) separately for elementary and secondary school teachers. The results of these regression analyses are presented in Table 3.

Insert Table 3 About Here

Model 1: Social Mobility

The first hypothesis stated that the greater the social mobility, the less desire for union involvement in all issues. The regression results testing this hypothesis are presented in Model 1 of Table 3. The res lts offer mixed support for the hypothesis. The greater the certainty of promotional opportunities, the less desire there is for union involvement in professional issues among elementary teachers (beta = -.09). On the secondary level, high certainty of promotional opportunities predicts to less desire for union involvement in both compensation and professional issues (beta = -.06 and -.06 respectively). Thus the findings for this variable support the hypothesis. The results for the difficulty of finding an alternate job, however, are contrary to the hypothesis. There, we find

TABLE 2: INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Variable	Items	Elementary School Teachers Mean	Low/High	Standard Deviation	Secondary School Teachers Mean	Low/High	Standard Deviation
A. Social Mobility	1. Certainty of future	2.84	1.00/4.00	.93	2.72	1.00/4.00	.94
	2. Certainty of promotion	2.28	1.00/4.00	1.13	2.43	1.00/4.00	1.17
	3. Likelihood leave district within 3 years	2.85	1.00/4.00	1.18	2.80	1.00/4.00	1.18
	4. Ease finding alternate job	3.97	1.00/5.00	1.13	3.51	1.00/5.00	1.28
B. Personal Deprivation	1. Job satisfaction	1.91	1.00/4.00	.66	2.04	1.00/4.00	.67
	2. Satisfaction with pay	2.35	1.00/4.00	.80	2.53	1.00/4.00	.83
C. Group Deprivation	1. Economic Deprivation	.74	.45/1.42	.17	.78	.54/.97	.08
	2. Decisional Deprivation	5.53	0.0/19.0	4.41	5.24	0.0/21.0	4.44
	3. Decisional Saturation	-.53	-18.0/0.0	2.30	-.46	-20.0/0.0	2.00
D. Self Identity	1. Rate of Agreement with administration	.67	.02/11.0	1.13	.74	.02/22.00	1.39
	2. Job Involvement	4.01	1.00/6.80	1.18	4.07	1.00/7.00	1.26
	3. Professional activity	1.25	.33/2.00	.31	1.37	.33/2.00	.36
E. Group Identity	1. Satisfaction with union	1.94	1.00/4.00	.82	2.10	1.00/4.00	.81

TABLE 2 Continued:

Variable	Items	Elementary School Teachers Mean	Low/High	Standard Deviation	Secondary School Teachers Mean	Low/High	Standard Deviation
	2. Satisfaction with union relations	2.21	1.00/4.00	.85	2.31	1.00/4.00	.81
	3. Union activity	1.67	1.00/2.00	.28	1.66	1.00/2.00	.28
F. Variety-Uniformity	1. Administration Stereotype	2.58	1.00/4.00	.81	2.63	1.00/4.00	.77
	2. Union Stereotype	2.65	1.00/4.00	.74	2.70	1.00/4.00	.76
	3. Union Support	1.90	1.00/4.00	.64	1.91	1.00/4.00	.67
G. Legitimacy	1. Union-administration power	2.44	1.00/7.00	1.03	2.50	1.00/6.00	1.06
	2. Decisional Saturation	-6.03	-39.0/0.0	7.38	-5.58	-46.0/0.0	7.19
	3. Decisional Deprivation	1.26	0.0/30.0	3.54	1.28	0.0/32.0	3.68

TABLE 3: REGRESSION RESULTS

Dependent Variables: Desired Union Involvement

Independent Variables	Elementary School Teachers: Compensation (N=518) r	Elementary School Teachers: Compensation (N=518) Beta	Elementary School Teachers: Professional Perogative r	Elementary School Teachers: Professional Perogative Beta	Secondary School Teachers: Compensation (N=954) r	Secondary School Teachers: Compensation (N=954) Beta	Secondary School Teachers: Professional Perogative r	Secondary School Teachers: Professional Perogative Beta
Model 1: Social Mobility								
a. high certainty of future	-.04	-.03	-.06	-.03	-.04	-.03	-.03	-.01
b. high certainty of promotion opportunity	-.03	-.04	-.10	-.09***	-.07	-.06**	-.07	-.06**
c. low likelihood leave district 3 years	-.05	-.01	-.07	-.02	-.01	.02	-.03	-.01
d. difficulty in finding alternate job	-.18	-.19***	-.09	-.09***	-.07	-.07***	-.04	-.04
Model 2: Personal Deprivation								
a. low job satisfaction	.14	.03	.30	.25***	.20	.07***	.26	.19***
b. low satisfaction with pay	.34	.33***	.23	.15***	.44	.42***	.27	.20***
Model 3: Group Deprivation								
a. low economic deprivation	-.09	-.09**	-.11	-.11***	-.01	-.01	.03	.02
b. high decisional deprivation	.09	.10***	.21	.22***	.11	.11***	.24	.24***
c. low decisional saturation	-.01	-.04	.01	-.06	.05	.02	.08	.01
Model 4: Self Identity								
a. high rate of agreement with administration	.03	.03	-.07	-.06	-.09	-.07**	-.12	-.11***
b. low job involvement	.01	.01	.12	.12***	.19	.18***	.14	.12***
c. high professional activity	-.06	-.05	.006	.01	-.05	-.01	-.04	-.02

TABLE 3 Continued:

Independent Variables	Elementary School Teachers: Compensation (N-518) r	Elementary School Teachers: Compensation (N-518) Beta	Elementary School Teachers: Professional Perogative r	Elementary School Teachers: Professional Perogative Beta	Secondary School Teachers: Compensation (N=954) r	Secondary School Teachers: Compensation (N=954) Beta	Secondary School Teachers: Professional Perogative r	Secondary School Teachers: Professional Perogative Beta
Model 5: Group Identity								
a. low satisfaction with union	.03	.03	.02	.02	.16	.13***	.01	-.02
b. low satisfaction with union relations	.02	.07	.10	.10**	.20	.13***	.14	.14***
c. high union activity	.11	.12***	.18	.19***	.15	.17***	.20	.19***
Model 6: Variety-Uniformity								
a. unfavorable administration attitude toward union	.10	.16***	.14	.14***	.19	.23***	.22	.24***
b. unfavorable union attitude toward administration	.03	-.10	.09	-.01	.10	-.07	.15	-.004
c. low union support	.07	.05	.03	.01	.07	.05	.04	-.09***
Model 7: Legitimacy								
a. high union power	-.14	-.13***	-.19	-.18***	-.17	-.16***	-.18	-.17***
b. low administrative decisional saturation	-.06	-.07*	-.05	-.05	-.05	-.04	-.13	-.11***
c. high administrative decisional deprivation	.05	.07*	.02	.03	-.02	-.01	-.06	-.03

* $p \leq .10$

** $p \leq .05$

*** $p \leq .01$

that the easier it is for elementary teachers to find another job, the greater the desire for union involvement in both types of issues (beta = -.19 compensation, -.09 professional). Among secondary teachers, ease of finding an alternate job predicts to desired union involvement in compensation issues (beta = -.07).

It is interesting to note that the items which support the hypothesis relate to internal mobility, while the items that run counter to the hypothesis relate to external mobility (this trend holds for the other items in three out of four cases as well, even though they fail to reach significance). It could be that the possibility of external mobility is used either to develop comparisons with one's current employer or as a last resort should changing the organization one is now in prove impossible. In both cases, the result is that the possibility of external mobility leads to increased efforts to alter the organization one is now in.

Model 2: Personal Deprivation

The regression results testing the hypothesis that personal deprivation will lead to greater desire for union involvement are presented in Model 2 of Table 3. The results provide strong support for the hypothesis. For elementary teachers, low satisfaction with pay is a strong predictor of desire for union involvement in compensation issues (beta = .33), while both low job satisfaction and low satisfaction with pay predict to desire for union involvement in issues of professional perogative (beta = .25 and .15 respectively). Among secondary school teachers, both sources of satisfaction predict to both types of issues (beta = .07 low job /satisfaction, .42 low satisfaction with pay for compensation issues; and beta = .19 job satisfaction and .20 sstisfaction with pay for professional issues). Only the emergence of low satisfaction with pay as a slightly stronger predictor of desire for union involvement in professional issues is counter to the specific hypothesis that job satisfaction would predict

more strongly to professional issues than satisfaction with pay.

Model 3: Group Deprivation

The hypothesized impact of group deprivation on desired union involvement is tested in the regression results of Model 3 in Table 3. The results which emerge as significant are in the direction predicted by the hypothesis. Among elementary teachers, economic deprivation and decisional deprivation predict to desire for union involvement in both compensation issues (beta = -.09 and .10 respectively) and issues of professional perogative (beta = -.11 and .22 respectively). For secondary school teachers, decisional deprivation emerges as the sole predictor of desired union involvement for both compensation issues (beta = .11) and professional issues (beta = .24).

Model 4: Self Identity

The fourth hypothesis stated the more an individual relied on personal sources to achieve a sense of identity, the less desire there would be for union involvement in any type of issue. Model 4 in Table 3 contains the regression results testing this hypothesis. All of the items which emerge as significant predictors of desired union involvement support the hypothesis. Among elementary teachers, low job involvement predicts to desired union involvement in issues of professional perogative (beta = .12). For secondary school teachers, a high rate of agreement with administrators and low job involvement predict to desire for union involvement in both compensation and professional issues (beta = -.07 and .18 for compensation, and -.11 and .12 for professional perogative).

Model 5: Group Identity

Hypothesis five predicted that a sense of group identity, as measured by satisfaction with the union and its relations and union activity, would lead to a desire for greater union involvement in all issues. The regression

results testing this hypothesis are given in Model 5 of Table 3. The results offer mixed support for the hypothesis. For elementary school teachers, union activity predicts to desire for union involvement in both compensation and professional issues (beta = .12 and .19 respectively), in line with the hypothesis. This same pattern also emerges among secondary school teachers (beta = .17 compensation and .19 professional). The results for the union satisfaction variables, however, run counter to the hypothesis among both elementary and secondary school teachers. Among elementary teachers, low satisfaction with the union relations is a positive predictor of desired union involvement in professional issues (beta = .10). For secondary school teachers, both low satisfaction with the union and low satisfaction with union relations predict to desire for union involvement in compensation issues (beta = .13 and .13 respectively), while low satisfaction with union relations also emerges as a predictor of desire for union involvement in professional issues (beta = .14).

Contrary to our expectations, it appears that the failure of the union to fulfill its members expectations enhances a sense of group identity. This could be due in large part to the fact that teachers are in a sense a captive audience. There are few alternatives to working through the union for achieving many concessions from the district. If one has to be a part of a group, then one is likely to do whatever one can to make sure its a good group - at least that's what the data suggest. In retrospect, these results should not be that surprising, since previous research has shown that satisfaction with the union generally leads to a low level of involvement in the union (Anderson,1977 ; Tannenbaum, 1969).

Model 6: Variety - Uniformity

The regression results testing the hypothesis that uniformity predicts

to the desire for greater union involvement in all issues are presented in Model 6 of Table 3. The items which emerge as significant predictors lend support to this hypothesis. For both elementary and secondary school teachers, the perceived presence in the administration of an unfavorable attitude toward the union is a strong predictor of the desire for greater union involvement in both sets of issues (beta = .16 compensation and .14 professional for elementary teachers; beta = .23 compensation and .24 professional for secondary teachers). Low union support also emerges as a significant predictor of desired union involvement in professional issues among secondary school teachers (beta = -.09), in line with the hypothesis.

The perception of the administration's attitude twoard the union was used as a variable on the premise that it would serve as an indicator of the presence of a stereotype among union members. As the primary outgroup in conflict with the union, we would expect a negative stereotype to exist among those teachers who possess a strong sense of group identity. In the same manner, the perception of the union attitude toward the administration was included as an index of the stereotype of the union. We would expect a favorable stereotype of the ingroup. Although this item failed to emerge as significant, the fact that the betas are in the opposite direction from the administration stereotype lend strong support to this line of reasoning and deserves mention.

Model 7: Legitimacy

The final hypothesis stated that a desire for increased union involvement in all issues would be related to the perceived illegitimacy of the status quo. Model 7 in Table 3 presents the regression results testing this hypothesis. The results offer mixed support for the hypothesis. The emergence of administrative decisional saturation and decisional deprivation as weak

predictors of desired union involvement in compensation issues among elementary teachers (beta = -.07 and .07 respectively), as well as the emergence of administrative decisional saturation as a predictor of desired union involvement in professional issues among secondary school teachers (beta = -.11), are all in line with the hypothesis. The emergence of high union power as a strong negative predictor of desired union involvement in both types of issues for both elementary and secondary school teachers, however, runs counter to the hypothesis (beta = -.13 compensation and -.18 professional for elementary; beta = -.16 compensation and -.17 professional for secondary).

We expected high administrative power to be a negative predictor of desired union involvement based on the argument that the administration's power would insure the maintenance of the status quo. The fact that high union power is a negative predictor suggests that although the administration may be able to use its power to maintain the status quo, the existence of this power does not mean it will be perceived as legitimate. Indeed, the data suggests that for teachers, the greater the administrations power, the more it will be seen as illegitimate and subject to social change through union action.

Integrative Models

Equations one through four (Table 4) present regression models which attempt to determine which of the previously significant variables ($p \leq .05$), when entered with other previously significant variables, remain as the strongest predictors of the desire for greater union involvement in compensation issues and issues of professional perogative for elementary and secondary school teachers.

Insert Table 4 About Here

TABLE 4: INTEGRATIVE MODELS

Dependent Variables		Independent Variables
(1) desire for union involvement in compensation issues (elementary school teachers)	=	-.13 *** (alternate job) +.26 *** (satisfaction with salary) -.09 *** (economic deprivation) +.01 (decisional deprivation) +.12 *** (union activity) -.01 (administration attitude to union) -.06 (union power) (R^2 = .14)
(2) desire for union involvement in issues of professional perogative (elementary school teachers)	=	+.01 (promotional opportunity) -.04 (alternate job) +.19*** (job satisfaction) +.12*** (satisfaction with salary) -.12*** (economic deprivation) +.08*** (decisional deprivation) +.01 (job involvement) -.01 (satisfaction with union relations) +.19*** (union activity) +.01 (administration attitude to union) -.08*** (union power) (R^2 = .18)
(3) desire for union involvement in compensation issues (secondary school teachers)	=	-.03 (promotion opportunity) +.01 (alternate job) +.02 (job satisfaction) +.33*** (satisfaction with salary) +.06*** (decisional deprivation) -.02 (rate of agreement with administration) +.07*** (job involvement) +.12*** (satisfaction with union) +.03 (satisfaction with union relations) +.13*** (union activity) +.05 (administration attitude to union) +.01 (union power) R^2 = .24

TABLE 4 Continued:

Dependent Variables		Independent Variables	
(4) desire for union involvement in issues of professional perogative	=	-.02	(promotion opportunity)
		+.14***	(job satisfaction)
		+.13***	(satisfaction with salary)
		+.14***	(decisional deprivation)
		-.05***	(rate of agreement with administration)
		+.02	(job involvement)
		-.01	(satisfaction with union relations)
		+.14***	(union activity)
		+.10***	(administration attitude to union)
		-.10***	(union support)
		-.07***	(union power)
		-.12***	(administrative decisional saturation)
		R^2 = .21	

* $p \leq .10$
** $p \leq .05$
*** $p \leq .01$

A cursory examination of the four equations reveals the following:

(a) For both elementary and secondary school teachers, a greater number of predictors emerge for the desire for union involvement in issues of professional perogative than for the desire for union involvement in issues of compensation.

(b) Comparing the same dependent variables across elementary and secondary school teachers, we can explain a greater degree of variance on the secondary level (R^2 = .24 for compensation issues and R^2 = .21 for professional perogative issues) than we are able to explain on the elementary level (R^2 = .14 for compensation issues and R^2 = .18 for issues of professional perogative).

(c) While consistent predictors emerge across issues and teaching levels, each issue and level also contains unique predictors.

Examining equation (1), we find that four of the previously significant variables remain as predictors of the desire for union involvement in compensation issues among elementary teachers. The easier it is for an elementary teacher to find an alternate job (beta = -.13), the greater the sense of individual and group economic deprivation (beta = .26 and -.09 respectively), and the greater the sense of group identity as measured by union activity (beta = .12), the more elementary teachers want their union to become involved in compensation issues.

Equation (3) reveals that for secondary school teachers, variables related to deprivation and identity also remain as significant predictors of the desire for union involvement in compensation issues, but in a different manner. Among secondary teachers, while the sense of individual economic deprivation is the single strongest predictor (beta = .33), the sense of group decisional deprivation also emerges as a significant predictor (beta = .06).

Further, while group identity is an important factor, as evidenced by the emergence of both satisfaction with the union and union activity as significant predictors (beta = .12 and .13 respectively), individual identity also remains a significant factor in determining the secondary teacher's desire for union involvement in compensation issues (beta = .07 for job involvement).

When we consider the desire for union involvement in issues of professional perogative, we find that for elementary school teachers, as indicated in Equation (3), variables related to individual and group deprivation remain as significant predictors. Thus job satisfaction and satisfaction with salary emerge as significant (beta = .19 and .12 respectively), as does economic deprivation (beta = -.12) and decisional deprivation (beta = .08). Further, union activity, a measure of group identity, also remains a significant predictor (beta = .19). The major addition is the emergence of a measure of legitimacy as a predictor, that of union power (beta = -.08).

Equation (4) shows that deprivation, identity and legitimacy measures also emerge as significant predictors among secondary school teachers of the desire for union involvement in issues of professional perogative, with the addition of variables related to variety-uniformity. Both measures of individual deprivation, job satisfaction and satisfaction with salary, remain significant (beta = .14 and .13 respectively), as does the group level variable of decisional deprivation (beta = .14). Although group identity (union activity, beta = .14) emerges as a stronger predictor than individual identity (rate of agreement with administration, beta = -.05), both are significant. Two measures of variety and uniformity remain significant, administration attitude toward the union or administration stereotype (beta = .10) and union support (beta = -.10). Finally, two measures of legitimacy emerge as significant predictors, union power (beta = -.07) and administrative decisional saturation (beta = -.12).

At least three things are worth noting about the integrative models. First is the emergence of several consistent predictors of the desire for union involvement, i.e., those related to deprivation and identity. More importantly, both interpersonal and intergroup measures of deprivation and identity emerge as significant. Second is the emergence of measures of legitimacy as significant only in relation to issues of professional perogative. This highlights the conflict between teachers and administrators over teacher versus management rights and correctly reminds us that this conflict revolves around questions of the legitimate roles the two parties should play in school district affairs. Finally, the differences between elementary and secondary school teachers are of interest. For example, the emergence of economic deprivation as a predictor among elementary teachers but not for secondary teachers suggests a greater sensitivity to group level economic comparisons. This could result from the fact that most pay scales are tied to experience and education. Since secondary teachers generally are more specialized and have more education, they generally end up being paid more. Thus elementary teachers greater sensitivity to their economic condition vis a vis the administration. This specialization at the secondary level may also help explain the emergence of both individual identity variables and variety-uniformity measures at the secondary level but not at the elementary level. It appears that specialization and the differentiation it represents raises the possibility of an individual utilizing personal sources of identity and makes the issue of variety or uniformity among teachers particularly salient at the secondary level.

Conclusion

Drawing a distinction between interpersonal versus intergroup behavior, this paper examined the impact of interpersonal and intergroup characteristics

on the decision to rely on group action. Specifically, we examined how four dimensions of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior - social mobility versus social change, personal deprivation versus group deprivation, self identity versus group identity, and variety versus uniformity - and the perceived legitimacy of the current situation, affected elementary and secondary school teachers desire to have their union become involved in compensation issues and issues of professional perogative. The results substantiate the distinction between interpersonal and intergroup characteristics and accentuate the importance of including both sets of characteristics in any examination of an individual's decision to rely on collective action. The data also show the value of differentiating between groups in which collective action may occur (e.g., elementary and secondary teachers) and between issues over which collective action may be taken (e.g., compensation and professional perogative).

A thorough understanding of the social psychology of collective action requires that the investigation of interpersonal and intergroup characteristics be expanded in at least three ways. Obviously, interpersonal and intergroup characteristics are not the only factors which affect the individual's decision to engage in collective action. Previous research (Bacharach and Mitchell, 1982) and the differences in the results between elementary and secondary school teachers highlight the importance of organizational factors on the desire for group action. The precise linkage between organizational variables and the social psychological variables included here, i.e., their relative degree of independence or interaction, deserves examination.

The shift from interpersonal to intergroup behavior among a collection of individuals may be aided by the presence of a leader (Tajfel, 1981).

In terms of teachers, this makes the study of internal union processes and union leadership a focal area for research (Bacharach and Mitchell, 1981). It seems apparent that factors related to the union's structure and process, such as communication, will play a key role in how an individual choses to categorize an issue (i.e., as interpersonal versus intergroup). Of particular interest is how the union and its officers handle what are essentially interpersonal issues in an intergroup manner. For example, to what degree does the union as an intergroup structure take on the resolution of the problems confronting an individual teacher? It seems likely that how the union deals with such matters will have a dramatic affect on members willingness to rely on collective action. Also of interest is how the union as a coalition deals with the differences which exist between elementary and secondary school teachers. Teachers are not a homogeneous group, as individuals or in sub-groups, and how the union deals with this variety to form a sense of unity deserves closer scrutiny.

Finally, in examining the desire for union involvement in different issues we have tapped only one possible form of collective action. The impact of interpersonal versus intergroup factors on other forms of collective behavior should also be investigated. At least two other forms are readily apparent: the decision to organize made by employees who are not part of a union and the decision to engage in militant action made by employees who are already in a union. Undoubtedly, each form of collective behavior will be the result of a unique social psychological situation. Our understanding of the social psychology of interpersonal versus intergroup behavior can only be enhanced through an investigation of there other possible forms of collective behavior.

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